

# GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION

Official Records

Wednesday, 8 October 1969,  
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

Republic on a State visit to President Tito. That visit represented the culmination of the excellent relations which have developed since the war between two neighbouring countries, between two peoples which, having succeeded in making their real interests prevail over the resentments and the rancours provoked by past conflicts, are now enjoying the fruits of trustful co-operation. Between Yugoslavia and Italy there is practically no frontier. Every day it is open to goods, people and ideas crossing by the thousands in one direction or another. Peace reigns on both shores of the Adriatic.

5. We are acting in the same way with Austria. Indeed, we believe that a solution of the Alto Adige problem is at hand—a solution to which we have devoted all our efforts for years in pursuance of United Nations resolutions. To this end we have also established opportune contacts with the intention of sounding out the reaction of the Austrian Government to the measures to be adopted internally by the Italian Government, on the basis of suggestions of the special committee composed of 19 members established in 1961, under the circumstances and for the purposes mentioned at that time in the General Assembly. Once the dispute has been settled, it will be possible to proceed toward forms of economic and cultural integration also between Italy and Austria.

6. I have referred to the spirit underlying the relations between Italy and these two neighbouring countries simply in order to express the hope that the same desire for peace, the same awareness of the genuine interest of peoples will guide Governments in Europe, the Near East, South-East Asia, Africa, Latin America, wherever conflicts, often bloody, are taking place among and within States.

7. The Italian Government shares the profound anxieties which have been repeatedly expressed from this rostrum, in the face of the dramatic events from which no continent appears, in one way or another, to be immune. Since disorder is so widespread, we must begin the task of building world peace as rapidly and as concretely as possible. In my opinion, this objective must be pursued, in its entirety, with a "global" vision of its multiple ramifications because on this depends not only the balanced development of the international community, but also perhaps the survival of human society itself.

8. In the first place, the development of political relationships, economic life and trade, the growth of communications and of human contacts, the movement of history itself, are bringing out more and more clearly the interdependence of peoples. At the same time the danger is growing of the propagation from one region to another, and from one continent to another, of tensions and conflicts which are exacerbated not only by political and military

1. Mr. MORO (Italy):<sup>1</sup> Madam President, allow me first of all to express to you the satisfaction of the Italian delegation at seeing you preside over this Assembly. In you we welcome the representative of a republic of ancient traditions, the interpreter of the will and aspirations of a continent, rich in youthful energies, destined to give new impetus to the development of the international community—a continent with which Italy feels itself linked by ties of friendship and co-operation. To you personally I wish to convey the sincere congratulations of the Italian delegation on your election to the high office entrusted to you. Your profound culture, your vast experience and your great human sensitivity are a guarantee of the success of the Assembly's work.

2. I should also like to pay a sincere tribute to the memory of your illustrious predecessor, Emilio Arenales, who presided over the twenty-third session with such skill and dedication. His passing has left within the great family of the United Nations a sense of deep regret for his exceptional qualities as a politician, diplomat and human being.

3. In the debate which is concluding today there has been a recurring theme: a profound desire for peace, a general longing for just and lasting solutions to the crises which beset the international order. We also share those aspirations. If we are to realize them, we must above all initiate a new and more human system of international relations. In other words, we must solve in an open spirit those problems which for years have caused divisions and disputes, and we must build the future on mutual respect, trust and co-operation among peoples.

4. I have just come from Yugoslavia, where I had the honour of accompanying the President of the Italian

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Moro spoke in Italian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

interests, but also by racial hatred, hunger, poverty and persistent economic and social injustices. Hence, war cannot be considered solely as the result of a lack of military equilibrium. It is a complex phenomenon with multiple causes which often have not yet been fully explored. A remedy, therefore, which would defend us from the dissemination of weapons, would certainly be very useful but would not be enough. We must therefore identify and eliminate the root causes of war.

9. In the second place, the splitting of the atom, the exploits in space and our great scientific and technological conquests have enormously increased the power of man over nature. We are about to enter a new phase of history. We feel that we must make a great effort to adapt our institutions, our spirits, our concept of international relations to the immeasurable possibilities which today are offered to us by science and technology. Yet we find difficulty in freeing ourselves from the old schemes of power politics and in accepting not only justice, but also disarmament as a requirement of progress itself.

10. The obvious conclusion which is now forced upon us is that, in the face of the threat of a nuclear holocaust, we have only one choice: to create the permanent conditions for peace—in other words, to achieve a peace in which not only military and political crises, but also all the basic problems of the modern world, can gradually find their solutions.

11. Peace-building must therefore acquire new dimensions. This task cannot be reduced to preventing armed conflicts and overcoming the political disputes likely to provoke such conflicts. It involves much more: the gradual reduction of all social, economic and technological “gaps” which operate as factors creating instability and disorder in international life; the conversion of the forces which today threaten us with destruction into instruments of creation, progress and well-being. In short, we must fill the technological and economic gap among and within States and between scientific-technological development and political concepts which are now worn out.

12. It is this integral conception of peace that I should like to suggest as a subject for reflection to the Assembly. This conception embraces the many fields in which the United Nations system is already operating; but it requires a comprehensive design, a more precise awareness of the interdependence which exists among the various tasks of the Organization and therefore new policies and new methods.

13. In this over-all perspective, I should like to explore the general lines along which, to our way of thinking, action for peace should be developed.

14. The first objective is to ensure, in any situation, respect for international legality and for statutory obligations, which consist in the prohibition of the use of force, the safeguarding of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States and the upholding of fundamental human rights.

15. The defence and the consolidation of international legality as a preliminary basis for peace involve two requirements.

16. The first requirement is to have efficient machinery for peace-keeping and security operations available, on the organizational and financial level. I should therefore like to stress the need to give to the work of the Committee of Thirty-Three<sup>2</sup> the necessary impulse so that constructive conclusions may rapidly be achieved according to the realistic proposals repeatedly put forward by the Italian representative.

17. The second requirement is to ensure, by deepening and clarifying the principles, that the rule of law is upheld in the international order. The Italian Government is therefore fully aware of the importance of a declaration such as that which is being worked out by the Committee entrusted with the study of principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation.<sup>3</sup> We are convinced that such a declaration, if it is drafted in unequivocal terms and accepted by all Member States, or at least by a large majority of them, will respond effectively to the requirements of today's international society.

18. The United Nations Conference on the Law of Treaties, concluded in Vienna last May, has undoubtedly made a substantial contribution to the stability of world order. In particular, it has allowed the newly independent States to participate actively in the codification of legal standards which up to now have been left to customary law.

19. Peace presupposes the abolition of all forms of human discrimination. The foundations of peace will therefore remain fragile as long as the myth of racial superiority prolongs the existence of absurd systems of *apartheid* and of colonial régimes.

20. Italy, which has applied and will continue scrupulously to apply the sanctions ordered by the Security Council against the illegal Salisbury régime, is ready to support all realistic proposals which may rapidly and peacefully bring about the establishment of a new, human and democratic order, in southern Africa. In this connexion, we have read with interest the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa<sup>4</sup> which was authoritatively presented by the President of Cameroon [*1756th meeting*] and which, we hope, will not go unheard. In the same spirit we look forward to the completion, in all parts of the world, of that irreversible historical process which requires the elimination of the political and economic structures of colonialism.

21. The elimination of poverty in all its manifestations, without at the same time sacrificing or repressing specifically human values, is one of the most exacting tasks involved in the building of peace.

22. As we in Italy see it, the problems of the economic and social progress of the poor countries must be tackled in a spirit of freedom and mutual respect, as an international development strategy. This strategy requires, on the one hand, the efficient economic and technical co-operation of industrialized countries, through the completion of a number of well planned stages; on the other hand, the

<sup>2</sup> Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

<sup>3</sup> Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States.

<sup>4</sup> Subsequently circulated as document A/7754.

developing countries must undertake to adapt their own structures to the requirements of economic development, taking advantage of the possibilities offered by regional programmes and organizing common economic systems. It should be pointed out that the association of the European Economic Community is already moving in this direction, together with the African countries and Madagascar, Tunisia, Morocco and the independent countries of East Africa, Surinam and the Dutch West Indies. The various groupings formed in Latin America are moving in the same direction, as was confirmed at the recent Viña del Mar meeting.<sup>5</sup> In doing so, they were encouraged and inspired by the continuing process of European economic integration.

23. Today's experience, furthermore, shows that the gradual reduction and the trend towards elimination of the economic gap between the industrialized countries and the countries of the third world is necessary, but inadequate, for the purposes of peace-building. We must also set in motion economic, social and educational systems which translate into terms of real life the basic principles of human dignity, respect for and free expression of the personality, eliminating the dangers of a society inspired solely by criteria of productivity and giving an ideal content to the life of the new generations.

24. The anxiety which even recently the Supreme Pontiff has shown for this problem confirms that it has today become one of the most essential in the modern world. The United Nations cannot fail to contribute to its solution.

25. Disarmament, as I mentioned, is a compulsory choice, imposed by the nuclear reality in which we live. With this conviction, the Italian Government has made and is continuing tenaciously to make its own contribution to the search for and the conclusion of agreements in this sector.

26. In our opinion, collateral measures, such as the Treaty on the partial cessation of nuclear tests,<sup>6</sup> the space Treaty,<sup>7</sup> the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of the Nuclear Weapons [see resolution 2373 (XXII)] and the drafts of the treaties which are being drawn up concerning the sea-bed and bacteriological and chemical weapons are certainly very important, but they do not yet deal with the crux of the problem, which is the initiation of an effective process of arms reduction. This was clearly seen by the General Assembly which, at its last session [resolution 2454 B (XXIII)], recommended the resumption of discussions on programmes of general and complete disarmament.

27. Precisely in response to the General Assembly's appeal, the Italian Government took the initiative at Geneva and, in the form of a specific working document,<sup>8</sup> submitted a proposal for the discussion of an organic disarmament programme. We aim at the opening of

discussions on a programme which establishes the directives for the inauguration and successive development of the disarmament process. In such a programme, which could form part of a "Disarmament Decade", which the Secretary-General has so brilliantly proposed in the introduction to his annual report [A/7601/Add.1, para. 42], we hope to see plans made for the beginning of negotiations on arms reduction, which should constitute the first phase of this process.

28. We are certain that the atmosphere of these discussions will be particularly facilitated by the initiation of talks between the two major nuclear Powers on the limitation of strategic weapons, which could represent the first effective step towards the cessation of the arms race.

29. A determining factor for the continuation of the disarmament negotiations could be the full and complete implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons which contains precisely in Article VI an undertaking to conduct such negotiations in good faith and urgently in view of the priority aim of nuclear disarmament.

30. Another important factor which must be considered in the building of peace is the establishment of forms of co-operation which will ensure that all countries benefit from scientific and technological progress in those sectors which open up new and important prospects for the future of mankind—I refer to the peaceful use of nuclear energy, outer space and the sea-bed.

31. I should like to recall that the development of international co-operation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy is a specific objective of the non-proliferation Treaty, an objective on which we are concentrating our efforts since the harmonious co-operation among the nuclear and non-nuclear States will depend on it. The Italian Government has already had an opportunity of expressing its views on this problem during the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States held at Geneva from 29 August to 28 September 1968, whose continuity, we hope, will be assured.

32. With the same aim we have proposed a change in the structure of the executive organ of the International Atomic Energy Agency, which is essential if we wish that organization to be able to tackle the new and important tasks which can be entrusted to it in the field of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

33. The utilization of the sea-bed and of outer space must be based on the principles that mankind as a whole must benefit from it and that no exclusive advantage must be appropriated by individual States. Such utilization must, therefore, be regulated by legal institutions which cannot be converted into *de facto* oligarchies and which guarantee all countries equitable conditions of enjoyment.

34. Another aspect of the problem of progress as a factor in peace-building is the protection of the human environment and of basic human resources, particularly in the face of forms of irrational exploitation as a result of technological development and of the manufacture of nuclear weapons. Italy is therefore following with particular

<sup>5</sup> Meeting of the Special Commission on Latin American Co-ordination, held at Viña del Mar from 15 to 17 May 1969.

<sup>6</sup> Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water.

<sup>7</sup> Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and other Celestial Bodies.

<sup>8</sup> Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1969, document DC/232, annex C, section 8.

views with particular interest and concern. In that region we have been witnessing for over two years a steady intensification, in gravity and frequency, of incidents which unfortunately are increasingly taking on the aspect of open warfare. We feel that this is the time and place to make a fervent appeal to the parties to refrain from the use of violence and to all countries in the United Nations to act, willingly and effectively, according to their responsibilities and influence, to bring about a peaceful settlement. It is unthinkable, in our view, that a solution could be achieved by means of force; it can only come through a political initiative. We can, therefore, guarantee our support for the efforts that are being made by the permanent members of the Security Council on the basis of the resolution of 22 November 1967 (242 (1967)) to clarify its dispositions and win the consensus of the parties and thus break the present deadlock. We could not conceive of any solution imposed from above upon sovereign countries which are understandably jealous of their independence. We feel that we should, without being discouraged by the complexity of the problems and difficulties involved, embark on a patient search for new formulas and means of contact that would enable the parties to arrive at substantial agreements.

50. To this end, the exploratory talks that are being conducted within the United Nations, the work that is being done by the four permanent members of the Security Council, and the activities of Ambassador Jarring, could prove most valuable because it should be possible, through these channels, to remove the obstacles which are still preventing in the entire area a final settlement based on just, definite and secure boundaries recognized by all. It is generally agreed, we believe, that all States have the right to live in peace, with integrity and independence assured, including the State of Israel, which is a Member of the United Nations and maintains relations with a large number of other countries. The acknowledgement of this enhances the right to autonomy, independence and development of the States in the area of conflict.

51. The tragic events of the past few years, which have caused death, sorrow and waste of valuable efforts, lead us to make an impressive assessment of the points on which there is substantial agreement and to concentrate our attention on those disagreements which can and must be overcome. The just settlement which could thus be envisaged would make it possible to restore peace and remove the conditions and consequences resulting from the war and from a state of insecurity and uncertainty that has lasted for many years. In particular we cannot be insensitive to the unhappy plight of the many Palestine refugees who must be given back their faith in life and in international justice. The prolonged closure of the Suez Canal has to some extent altered the geography of the world and has made maritime communications between countries, which previously seemed relatively near, more time-consuming and costly. This is one further reason why an equitable and enduring political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict is so desirable.

52. For our part, we are ready to support any initiative taken in the United Nations to secure peace in the Middle Eastern region and to contribute to it, if we are requested to do so. We should also like the other Powers to appreciate how necessary it is to halt the rising flow of arms in the

area as a first step, pending a final solution to the problem. We feel we can make this plea in all conscience, as Italy has as a matter of consistent policy refrained from sending military supplies to any country involved in the conflict.

53. I should therefore like to express the wish and the hope that the Mediterranean area, which throughout the world's history has provided a basic channel of communication and a point of encounter for three continents and great civilizations, may become an area of peace, solidarity and progress and fulfil its special function for the benefit of mankind.

54. Italy is also continuing to follow, with keen anxiety, the trend of the war which is causing bereavement and suffering in Viet-Nam. In our view, it is a matter of prime concern that those peoples should be in a position to choose their own destiny freely without outside interference or pressure. Even though the Paris talks do not so far seem to have made satisfactory progress, the slowing down of military operations and the adoption of some de-escalation measures gives cause for hope that the crisis will soon enter the substantive phase of negotiations which we have always advocated and favoured. These remain the only valid means of restoring peace in that part of the world.

55. This tragic chronicle of crises must inevitably include the conflict in Nigeria. Respecting the sovereignty of others and convinced as we are that the solution is only to be found within an African context, we have always refrained from interference of any kind. Nevertheless, the very principles underlying the United Nations and a feeling of human concern prompt us to renew a heartfelt appeal in this forum for a rapid cessation of hostilities, which has now become an undelayable necessity, also for the sake of alleviating the suffering of a defenceless people.

56. As this bloody fratricidal war continues, it is our inescapable duty to ensure the continuity of all humanitarian actions. A speedy and definitive settlement of the graver regional crises is a pre-condition before we can embark on a concrete programme for strengthening the United Nations. But this is not the only requirement. It will also be necessary for all Member States to support this programme with specific political commitments, to renounce from now on the allure of military strength, to set aside racial hatred and national fanaticism and accept the necessity, and also the benefits, of multilateral discipline in international relations.

57. Finally, we must also create the psychological atmosphere for the beginning of a continuous and fruitful collaboration between all the regional groups and, in particular, between the Member States which have the heaviest responsibilities for the maintenance of peace. This can only be the result of the relaxation of tension, which all peoples long for and which is an essential requirement upon which Italy has insisted for so many years.

58. In order to achieve this relaxation of tension, we must solve those problems which, especially as regards Europe, are closely linked with the search for co-operation and security through the efforts of all the interested countries. It is therefore a serious error of perspective to think that

interest the preparations for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment which, as a result of the Assembly's decision, will be devoted to this problem in 1972 in Stockholm.

35. In submitting my views on ways and means of securing peace I have also, by implication, indicated the programme of action which, I feel, should be followed by our Organization. In order to build peace, it is essential to have a functional United Nations.

36. Unfortunately, the facts still show that our Organization is not yet in a position to fulfil all the hopes that have been placed in it. The system is imperfect, not only because it still lacks the means and the machinery necessary for the constant and vigilant maintenance of peace, and not only because it is passing through a phase of institutional growth, resulting in an inevitable dissipation of effort, but also because it sometimes encounters resistance from Member States which, though often invoking the principles of the Charter, are not always ready to accept them.

37. The Assembly must take appropriate decisions concerning preparations for the twenty-fifth anniversary. Let us seize this opportunity to commit ourselves not only to scrupulous adherence to our statutory principles but also to the quest for more suitable means of attaining the perfection of our system at the institutional, organizational and methodological levels. We now have a chance to evaluate carefully the experience of the past in order to plan for the future and to ensure that the Organization functions more effectively.

38. As regards the second subject for reflection—the strengthening of the United Nations—Italy has contributed some ideas and proposals to the document submitted, in response to the Secretary-General's invitation, in connexion with the preparations for the twenty-fifth anniversary [see A/7690, annex I].

39. First of all, we believe that an attempt should be made to ensure close co-ordination of the various activities undertaken throughout the entire United Nations system, applying an over-all plan which takes into account all the objectives entailed in the maintenance of world peace, in such a way that the gradual attainment of goals in one area is reflected in substantial progress in others.

40. A correlation of this kind—which Italy has been urging for some time and which has also been advocated by the Assembly—should be established between disarmament and development. Thus the resources made available by the gradual achievement of disarmament would be spent on economic and technological assistance to the countries of the “third world”.

41. In a broader sense, we believe that the resources released by the disarmament process or by the use of outer space and the sea-bed or by other means should be applied to the progress of the developing countries, to the peace-keeping tasks of the United Nations and to the protection of the human environment and of nature.

42. Secondly, we must consider the problem of adapting the structure and working methods of the main United

Nations organs to the new historical context within which they are required to function. The agencies that were established as a result of the Bretton Woods Agreements are now, after five years of study, embarking on the changes needed to adapt them to present-day requirements. What is possible for the international financial agencies in Washington must surely also be possible for the United Nations.

43. I am aware of the difficulties inherent in a revision of statutory norms. I believe, therefore, that appropriate solutions might already, to some extent, consist in a more functional interpretation and application of the Charter, in its present form, pending an opportunity to undertake the reforms which various other speakers have advocated before me. Thus arrangements could be made for the constant participation in the Security Council of States which are capable of fully discharging the particular responsibilities deriving from membership in that body. This result could be achieved by implementing Article 23 of the Charter forthwith. By applying the same criteria and making a few changes in the rules of procedure, the functioning of this Assembly could be improved in order to ensure that its decisions are practical and effective, as befits the prestige of a body responsible for the democratization of international life.

44. Lastly, the United Nations system needs to be strengthened in the sphere of economic and social development.

45. The preparations for the Second United Nations Development Decade and its realization will surely be a test of the Organization's ability to function adequately as a focal point for the generation of ideas and initiatives, and harmonization of different positions. In this context the United Nations must therefore be able to act with agility, be flexible in structure and have rational co-ordination in its methods. Indeed, the strength of the institution is not to be sought in the multiplicity of its organs or in the complexity of its procedures. It resides instead in the ability to act swiftly, judiciously and in an orderly manner. In this way development assistance will flow more abundantly in the broad multilateral channels of the United Nations system.

46. However, a strengthening of the United Nations, as we see it, cannot come about unless the Organization attains the universality which is appropriate to its institutional responsibilities and to its very purpose and which is the basis of its authority and world-wide influence.

47. The Italian Government therefore trusts that a solution in keeping with this requirement will be reached on the question of the representation of China.

48. We hope that, by following this course, the United Nations may become the effective instrument of peace that we all wish it to be. To achieve that aim the Organization must also secure, within the international framework in which it must operate, political, moral and psychological conditions that will facilitate the progressive development of its activities. The first step, therefore, must be to settle regional crises and conflicts.

49. I am speaking firstly of the crises in the Middle East, a region which Italy, because of its geographical position,

individual acts of force, which violate the very principles of the United Nations, are likely to consolidate the security of individual States to the detriment of the general equilibrium of the freedom of others.

59. For this reason, too, we cannot fail to note how much more difficult the task of building up an atmosphere of trust has become as a result of the grave upheaval in world order caused by the events in Czechoslovakia, and how much discouragement this has brought to those seriously working for a relaxation of tension.

60. Mindful of the tragic experiences of the two world wars, we are seeking to give our contribution towards a system of peace and security in Europe. Indeed, for years we have been working tenaciously for the creation, especially among the countries of Western Europe, of a politically and economically integrated community, open to a fruitful and dignified dialogue with greater Europe and to co-operation with the rest of the world. To be sure, we are still far from that political and economic unification that we seek. Certainly, we shall not give up these our most ambitious objectives. The passage of time and the development of world events will show that our frontiers and our national sovereignties are anachronistic. It is only by advancing in this direction that we can build a Western European group, capable of contributing to a trustworthy collaboration of the whole of Europe and thus constituting a factor for equilibrium, stability and peaceful progress in international life.

61. With respect to the countries of the East, we want to continue to seek points of understanding with a view to achieving equitable solutions to the gravest problems which exist, the essential one being that of friendly Germany. In spite of certain objective uncertainties, we intend to continue our efforts to relax tension, because no other policy is imaginable as long as conditions for real progress exist, even among so many difficulties. The policy of peace today has no alternative.

62. We should like all the countries of our continent to make a similar contribution to the relaxation of tension. We should like them all to understand how sincere is our desire for the achievement in Europe of an exemplary, trustworthy and constructive coexistence. This condition is also necessary if we are all to act together in the United Nations in the service of world peace.

63. In his message on the occasion of the marvellous lunar exploit of last July the Secretary-General stressed that the plaque placed on the surface of the moon by the two United States astronauts bore the inscription "We came in peace for all mankind". In these simple and human terms the Secretary-General expressed the hope that the exploit which has opened the way for the conquest of space will inspire on earth a great upsurge of human solidarity.

64. I believe that the best contribution which the United Nations can make to the realization of this hope is to work with perseverance towards the creation of an international order in which man's growing control over the physical world does not become a means of destruction but solely a factor for progress and peace.

65. I would like therefore, for my own part, to express the hope that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United

Nations may stimulate our efforts and strengthen our determination in the pursuit of the great task. With this hope, Madam President, I confirm to you that the United Nations can always count on the fervent support of the Italian Government.